1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930*
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

colour, shorter in stature, and somewhat sturdier in build. They have not the lean and well-marked features of the plainsmen, but broad faces on which their more vivacious temperament shows itself in broad smiles. (3) At its south-western corner the territory of the Orokaiva abuts upon that of the Biagi peoples. These are typical mountaineers of the Koiari type, with whom Capt. Barton strikingly compared the plainsmen, as 'dark-skinned, lanky, naked people, with their hair worn in long tags, in marked contrast to the stalwart, be-petticoated, light-skinned mountaineers'.[1] They have not been examined with any great thoroughness hitherto. (4) Along the western flank the Orokaiva plain is bounded by a wide belt of uninhabited mountains separating the Yodda valley from the plain. It would hardly be right to speak of the Chirima people (i.e. those who inhabit the valley of the Chirima, the second great affluent of the Mambare) as neighbours of the Orokaiva, because prior to the penetration of the Chirima valley by Europeans there was apparently no existing contact between the two peoples. (5) On the north-west, inhabiting the Upper Waria, are the group of peoples whom Chinnery and Beaver called Tahari. Except for a branch which has extended to the Upper Gira, it might be said that they also were virtually out of contact with the Orokaiva. (6) Along the lower reaches of the river Waria are a number of tribes, Mawai, Yarawi, and Jia, who bear some resemblance to the people with whom we are concerned in physique, culture, and language. Contact with these, friendly or warlike, has evidently been fairly close before as well as since the coming of the white man. With them we may class the Yema who are found on the middle Gira and the Eia. These latter, however, are becoming merged in the Binandele population.

Tribes and Cultural Differences

The Orokaiva are divided into a number of large tribes which may be named at this point. The classification rests mainly on a basis of language and follows, with a little amplification, the list made by Chinnery and Beaver. It must

[1] *Annual Report*, 1904–5, p. 7.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

619 be understood, however, that the present is a very rough-and-ready statement of the case; for there is far more blending and complexity than appears in a bare list of nine tribes. A fuller treatment of the classification of tribes will be given in Chapter X; in the meantime the principal of them are:

1. Binandele and Jeva Buje.
2. Tain-Daware.
3. Aiga.
4. Yega.
5. Sauaha.
6. Sangara.
7. Dirou.
8. Wasida.
9. Hunjara.

Their disposition may be seen on the map.

The native roughly classifies these tribes according to their environment. The River People are called *Umo-ks*, lit. 'water-language'; they comprise the Binandele of the Mambare and Gira rivers and the large branch of the same tribe called Jeva Buje, inhabiting the lower Kumusi. The coastal Tain-Daware and Yega are called *Eva-Embo*, 'Salt-water Men', and the inland tribes are collectively known as *Astembo*, 'Bushmen', or more often as *Perebo* (*Berepo*), a word which has the same general meaning, or more specifically stands for the 'little bush-pigs' that are captured wild in the forest. There are naturally some environmental differences between these large groups, but it appears that such differences are not essential. There seems to be no good ground 619 other than group-conceit for the opinion of an Aiga that the 186 Bush People were *momoseja*, attractive and 'pretty' (the same word would be applied to a brilliant croton leaf), while the River People were *kamoseja*, ugly and unattractive, with black skins like Kiwais, ringworm, and elephantiasis.

619 Apart from certain cultural differences which are probably the direct result of environment, as e.g. in methods of 184 fishing and their appliances, there are others of greater 537 significance which are probably due to some contact influ- 536 ence. The most important of these consists in the religious and social ceremonies involving the use of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute. These objects are known in the southern part of the Division, but their use is discontinued with some abruptness when we reach the Aiga, the Binan-

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

dele, and the Tain-Daware. They then reappear on the river Waria, to the north of the last-mentioned tribes. Their distribution excludes in the main that of the small dramas for which the Orokaiva are famous, these latter belonging especially to the Aiga, Binandele, and Tain-Daware.[1] Thus bull-roarer and flute on the one hand, and drama on the other tend to be mutually exclusive. It is noteworthy that the miniature drum, *saunda*, is confined to those three tribes who practice the drama.

Another significant distribution may be mentioned, viz. that of the yam. This vegetable is grown over the whole of the plain, but far less commonly in the north than the south, though it is not, as far as I know, debarred by climatic causes from flourishing in any part. But the yam-house and the extensive cultivation of yams disappear north of Divina Kovari, so that their distribution seems to correspond in some degree with that of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute.

Save for these few distinctions between South and North, the exclusive presence of bull-roarer, flute, and yam in the one, and of the drama and the *saunda* in the other, I have not been able to see any really important distinctions between the various component tribes of the Orokaiva. It may be stated with some confidence that the groundwork of their customs and institutions is the same throughout.

It is on the assumption of general uniformity among the tribes that the present report claims to refer to the people as a whole. The tribe with which I am best acquainted is that of the Aiga, who seemed to offer the best opportunities for research because they are fairly central and as yet less contaminated by European influence than most of the others. Out of a total Orokaiva population of some 9,000, this tribe numbers approximately 1,300, who are scattered in nearly fifty villages on or between the Opi and Kumusi rivers. To avoid confusion it will be the rule of this report to use the Aiga dialectal form for native words.

[1] I am not ready to say that the drama never appears among the Southern tribes. At any rate I cannot speak with any certainty about the Hunjara.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

X

THE TRIBES

Partial Blending of Tribes

THE principal tribes have been already named in Chapter I. It will be understood that the list is not entirely rigid. It could be considerably amplified by mentioning minor groups such as Hunjovarehu in the Wasida tribe, Haniahaja and Ahojega in the Sauaha tribe, and Sebaga-andere in the Yega tribe; and by dividing the Sangara into fairly distinct halves, viz. Kombu-Sangara on the east, and Ato-Pekuma on the west. The large Hunjara tribe also, of which I possess only scanty information, would no doubt admit of further subdivision.

On the other hand we may not regard the nine tribes as so many water-tight compartments. Dispersal and migration have brought about some blending, and it is not always easy to draw the line between any two of the nine. There are undoubted affinities, for instance, between the Aiga and their neighbours the Hunjovarehu (of the Wasida tribe) on the south, and also between the Aiga and the Binandele of the river Mambare on the north. So again the Binandele are closely related to the Sebaga-andere of the Yega tribe: indeed, Binandele (or Bina-andere) and Sebaga-andere sometimes lay claim to a common origin.

Chinnery and Beaver have given a very full account of the wanderings of the Binandele tribe, and of others with whom it came in contact.[1] Among the Orokaiva at large, however, the subject of tribal migration is involved in truly vertiginous confusion, and a complete account of the movements of every tribe is something more than I would attempt in this life. The work of Chinnery and Beaver gives a vivid picture of the turbulent and restless life of these people, with whom migration was, in the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing. As the authors say, "The whole is a typical Papuan record of battle, murder, and sudden

[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, pp. 158–61.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

166 death.' All I shall attempt here is to give some further details concerning the movements of the Aiga, which, since 619 'the whole series of (Binandele) migrations is a pressing of the Binandele north by the powerful Aiga', may be regarded as supplementing the work of Chinnery and Beaver.

Migrations of the Aiga

166 The Aiga are to be partly identified with the Evije-Tom-173 baha or Timbariundi people, names of which there are now 619 only scattered evidences. Timbariundi would appear to be a highly contumelious nickname, for *timbari* indicates that common phenomenon among Orokaiva children, a sore between the buttocks. The Timbariundi are said to have been more than usually restless and prone to wander. They deserved the name of *sisiki popoki*, or 'vagrants', which was also applied to the miners who moved from camp to camp in this region twenty-five years ago. Their first home, as far as tradition goes back, was at Barau, in the Sauni district. Driven from here by their western neighbours, they settled in the vicinity of Aususu, and soon came into conflict with the people of Koropata. It is said that they next moved eastward to the Ahojega people, by whom they were not very cordially received, and that they then dispersed, some remaining among the Ahojega, some going to Hamara, some to the Hunjovarehu, and some back to Aususu. In the last-mentioned neighbourhood they drove out the Koropata people, and once more established themselves. There are to be seen caves in the hill-sides, difficult of access and well concealed, in which refugees of either party, Timbariundi or Koropata, would take shelter when driven from their villages.

It appears, however, that the bulk of the Timbariundi moved northward to the neighbourhood of Bogi. It was here, at a village called Anjivu, that the menfolk, seated one day in a large *oro*, were amusing themselves by beating and rubbing the floor with coco-nut shells by way of a substitute for drums. A high wind blowing without increased the noise, and the men sang lustily a meaningless song, '*Avara bóvora, avara bóvora*'. During a lull, while they waited

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

for a fresh gust of wind, they were shelling betel-nuts and throwing the husks at one another. Something happened to affect the hitherto pleasant temper of the party, and they took to exchanging heavier missiles, and finally, their feelings thoroughly roused, rushed outside and commenced to fight with spears. As a result of this unnecessary quarrel the remaining Timbariundi found themselves divided into two factions, and when in due course they moved northwards again, some settled on the Kumusi and others on the Opi; and, whether there be any truth in this legend or no, there is still some trace of antagonism between the Aiga on the Kumusi side and those on the Opi side.

We need not suppose that these simple traditions about the Timbariundi will adequately account for the origin of the Aiga tribe. That tribe is more likely to be of a composite origin, and the Timbariundi to form merely one of the component elements. Such evidence as there is, however, all points to the south for the former home of the Aiga.

When they reached what is their present territory they found it occupied by Binandele people, especially by a branch of them called Kiriri Gaimoda. It appears that at first the Aiga and the Kiriri Gaimoda settled together, but that when quarrels subsequently disturbed their friendship the former drove the latter 'like pigs' out of the district. Several explanations, some of them trivial (but not too trivial to be true when we remember how quick-tempered a man is the Orokaiva), account for the quarrel between Aiga and Binandele. We are told that an Aiga was overheard playing a reed pipe in solitude, and that some people called Ponadu saw in this a splendid opportunity and killed him. Subsequently a party of Aiga were guests at a Kiriri Gaimoda feast, and seeing a Ponadu man there killed him by way of revenge. This led to bad blood between hosts and guests, and after many quarrels the former were driven out. Another explanation has it that an Aiga pig trespassed upon a Kiriri Gaimoda garden and was speared (and this oft-repeated circumstance has been a fruitful cause of serious quarrels). But several times repeated I have heard the same odd explanation, viz. that the trouble arose over a pet

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

166 parrot, some having it that the parrot was owned by an
173 Aiga man and killed by a Binandele boy, others that the
619 parrot was owned by a Binandele man and bitten by an Aiga dog.

It is certain, however, that a previous Binandele population were driven out by the Aiga, some of the fugitives settling on the lower Kumusi, others on the Mambare.

Subsequent quarrels among the Aiga, with constant repetition of the inter-clan fighting called *embogi*, finally led some of the Aiga to migrate northwards and rejoin the Binandele. It is said that these refugees in their anxiety to escape killed the old folk who impeded their progress and left them behind decorated with feathers but unburied. But a milder version of the same incident relates that one of the refugees taking his wife with him was so embarrassed by the clamorous grief of his *imboti*, or mother-in-law, that he silenced it by striking her dead with his club. There are now some Aiga clans represented among the Binandele, as there are also Aiga clans represented among the Hunjovarehu. And if any value can be attached to names, it would appear from cases in which they correspond that some of the clans are widely scattered among other tribes.

Legends of Origin and Dispersal of Tribes

I must confess to having no settled theory as to the movements of the tribes at large. There has evidently been a northward drift in comparatively recent times affecting the Aiga, the Binandele, and other peoples referred to by Chinnery and Beaver; but without reliable information (which I cannot supply) as to the movements of the other tribes, it is impossible to say whether this northward trend has been general.

773 Several legends (with many variations) are current as to the origin of the Orokaiva. In the south it is said that all the peoples issued from a hole in the ground or a cave situated somewhere in the Hydrographers, and that the first to emerge were the Orokaiva, who brought the taro with them, and left the yam and sweet potato for the mountaineers.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

the head with a stone club and throw him overboard. At last one of them consents reluctantly to do this, and Korevaja topples overboard and sinks. As he does so innumerable bubbles rise and turn into human beings who disperse themselves as the Orokaiva tribes.

In the fourth of these legends, a woman Buda lives alone with her husband Menina on the Waria river. Over their house grows a tall *Bendoro* tree, and every morning the woman must take her broom and sweep up a litter of fallen leaves. But she complains of the loneliness of their life, and one day at her work she wishes that men and women were as numerous as the *Bendoro* leaves. Next morning when she and her husband come out of their house they find no leaves but myriads of people. The woman Buda forthwith classifies these into the various tribes, presents them with weapons and implements of Orokaiva material culture, and sending them off to their respective regions, from Kokoda down to the salt water, bids them fight and wage war on one another, and make truces when they tire of fighting—instructions which they have carried out with much fidelity.

Individuality of the Tribe

These legends are as much concerned with the division of the Orokaiva into tribes as with their origin. The actual division into tribes is probably due in the first instance to kinship and clan grouping; but this is reinforced by local grouping, and eventually the local group, owing to the vagaries of settlement and migration, is found to comprise a variety of clan groups. Relative isolation serves to consolidate the tribe, to create a few idiosyncrasies of custom, and to give it a distinct dialect. But what more than anything else gives individuality to the tribe is the almost perpetual state of war with its neighbours. The tribe, therefore, is defined by (1) a common territory, (2) certain idiosyncrasies of custom, (3) a distinct dialect, and (4) its common enmities.

(1) It will not be necessary to deal at any length with the subject of tribal territory. The boundaries on the map are rough and ready. It will be seen that the distribution differs

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

slightly from that of Chinnery and Beaver,[1] but principally by a slight amplification. I have divided their Dobodura tribe into three, Sauaha, Sangara, and Dirou; and I have given the name Jeva-Buje to that branch of the Binandele inhabiting the lower Kumusi. By the addition of minor tribal names, such as are mentioned on p. 151, the matter would be complicated and not helped.

In one instance, that of Sauaha (and perhaps we might say in another, that of the Binandele and the Jeva-Buje), the tribal territory is not continuous, but in the others there is a fairly well-defined local spirit which belongs to a solid block of territory. This local spirit, which was in evidence among the clans (*vide* p. 107), is certainly of some moment. It is probably the principal motive behind the minor tribal groups and the temporary clan confederacies within the tribe. When, for instance, a number of clans band together to support one of their number in a semi-warlike dispute, it is, I have been told, because they are *pusu tahavo*, 'one ground', and, therefore, natural allies.

Although the boundaries on the map make it appear that the tribal territories are coterminous, there is commonly a no-man's-land of greater or less extent. This is particularly marked in the case of the Aiga, who (while in close touch with the Jeva-Buje) are separated from their other neighbours on north, east, and west by a good half-day's journey through virtually uninhabited country. In the more densely populated southern end of the division this territorial isolation is not so complete.

(2) Certain tribal peculiarities have been spoken of already in Chapter I. On the whole we may wonder at their absence rather than their presence. It is sometimes possible to distinguish men of different tribes merely by differences in their dress and ornaments. The Binandele commonly wear the bark-cloth perineal band with the end tied in a knot at the belt; the bush people in general have it suspended as an apron. The Aiga are said to be fond of the streamers of thin betel-palm spathe attached to the tags of their hair. The Tain-Daware and other coastal people especially affect

[1] *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 161.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

619 the *huave*, a breast ornament of two circles of white shell.
184 When Totoima's sister split up the people into tribes she
301 allotted them various distinctive ornaments. To the Sauaha she gave the black feathers of the hornbill; to the Sangara the red feathers of *Ungaiavo*, *Orero*, and *Samba*; to the Aiga red-dyed betel spathe, *saima* (or small white cowrie) shells, and dog's teeth; and to the Yega the *tava* or palm-wood digging stick. The legend, of course, merely indicates that the men of these tribes show a modern preference for the articles named.

773 But these fashions are by no means exclusive, and perhaps
829 the distinctions are little more real than those peculiarities
619 of temper which are said to have come into being when the various peoples feasted on Totoima's body. In a version of the story given by an old Yema man the participants in the feast were mostly Waria people: the Bia and Mawai had eaten his legs, and were consequently speedy runners; the Yema themselves had eaten his entrails, and were therefore subject to stomachic disturbances which were the direct cause of a fierce temper; the Ono (?) had eaten his genitalia, and were highly erotic; the Jia had eaten froth or saliva, and therefore their language was unintelligible; the Gilita (who formerly occupied the present Binandele territory) had eaten his spleen, and were sullen men who used their spears more readily than their tongues; and the Berepo (i.e. the Aiga and other bush people of the Orokaiva) had eaten his head and mouth, and were therefore 'strong talkers', quarrelsome and abusive.[1]

773 (3) The eating of Totoima's body is generally made to
619 account for nothing more than differences of dialect. There is a remarkable insistence in many renderings of the story upon the bubbles (*boro*), i.e. of froth, saliva, or grease, which in a manner not easily understood arose from the monster's body before or during cooking. In one version the refugees came flocking in when they heard of Totoima's death, and when they found him roasting or basting on the hot stones they fell to and lapped up the bubbles of scalding grease.

[1] In Wasida the story of Totoima is told of one Kokowaiko. *Vide* Chinnery and Beaver, *loc. cit.*, p. 161.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

After that, as one might almost expect, they began to speak in different tongues.

The tribal vocabularies have been compared by Chinnery and Beaver.[1] They have been commonly called varieties of Binandele, not because Binandele is known to be the original or nearer to an original than any of the others, but because it has been more closely studied. The Rev. Copland King put together a vocabulary of this dialect which was published in 1901,[2] and it has since been mastered by members of the Anglican Mission. The dialects are mutually intelligible to the natives, though not always without difficulty. To a European they sound very different, and a knowledge of one does not imply a speaking knowledge of another.

Natives have their own way of classifying the tribes (or some of them) according to dialect. There is a word *midia*, which means 'There you are!' or *voilà!*; and natives will refer to the Wasida tribe as *Mitia* people, the Sangara and Sauaha tribes as *Mibia* people, the Hunjara tribe as *Mibja* people, and the Aiga as *Midia* people. (Binandele and Yega people apparently do not use the word.)

The Hunjara tribe is very commonly called *Aba-maba*, from their distinctive manner of pronouncing the words for 'mother' and 'father', which the other tribes find somewhat amusing. An informant will go on to explain that the Binandele are *Aiaba-mamaba*, the Aiga *Aja-mama*, the Yega *Aia-mama*, and the Sauaha and Sangara *ajaba-mamaba*. (The Wasida use the word *enau* for 'mother'.)

Somewhat remarkable is the fact that at least four different words are used to name the ghost (or the spirit of the dead, or, again, the supernatural monster, which comes under the same category). Among the Aiga the word is *sovai*; among the Binandele and Yega *binei*; and among the Hunjara *siango*. The other tribes appear to use either *siango* or *embabi*. I do not know that there are any distinctive differences between the ideas of the several tribes on this point,

[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.
[2] *Vocabulary of the Binandele Dialect, spoken by the Natives of the Mamba River, British New Guinea* (D. S. Ford, Sydney, 1901). New Edit., 1927.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

and believe that each of the four words is applicable to the same loose concept.

(4) The fourth of these features, which lend individuality to the tribe, is the fact that it is constantly at enmity with various of its neighbours, and that in the fighting which so frequently ensues it is a unit and not divided against itself. It is not to be imagined, of course, that the component clans of any tribe remained at permanent peace with one another, for that is hardly in Orokaiva nature. But inter-clan fights were not characterized by the deliberate blood-thirstiness of the tribal raid, and they resulted in comparatively few casualties. Furthermore—what is an important distinction [266] —there was never, except in the most abnormal instances, any cannibalism within the tribe. The inter-clan fight is called *embogi*, and the raid or tribal expedition *isoro*. Most of the fighting described in the following chapter will be of the latter kind, in which men of one tribe attack those of another. Friends or allies are called *tobo* and enemies *ki-tobo*, and although the friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word, it would be fair to say that in most cases the tribes were mutually *ki-tobo*.

We are justified in adding a fifth essential in the delimitation of the tribe, viz. the recognition of a common name. I have already spoken (p. 2) of the difficulty of naming ethnic units. In the largest groups, as we see them, there is no recognition within the group itself of a common name; but as we descend the scale we reach a point where such a name comes into use, where the members of the group are able to say 'We are so and so'. Among the Orokaiva we reach this stage when we come to the tribes. They are in fact the largest units which are able consistently to name themselves. I would suggest therefore that the use of a common name, implying as it does a recognition of unity, is a very essential factor in the individuality of the tribe.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

131
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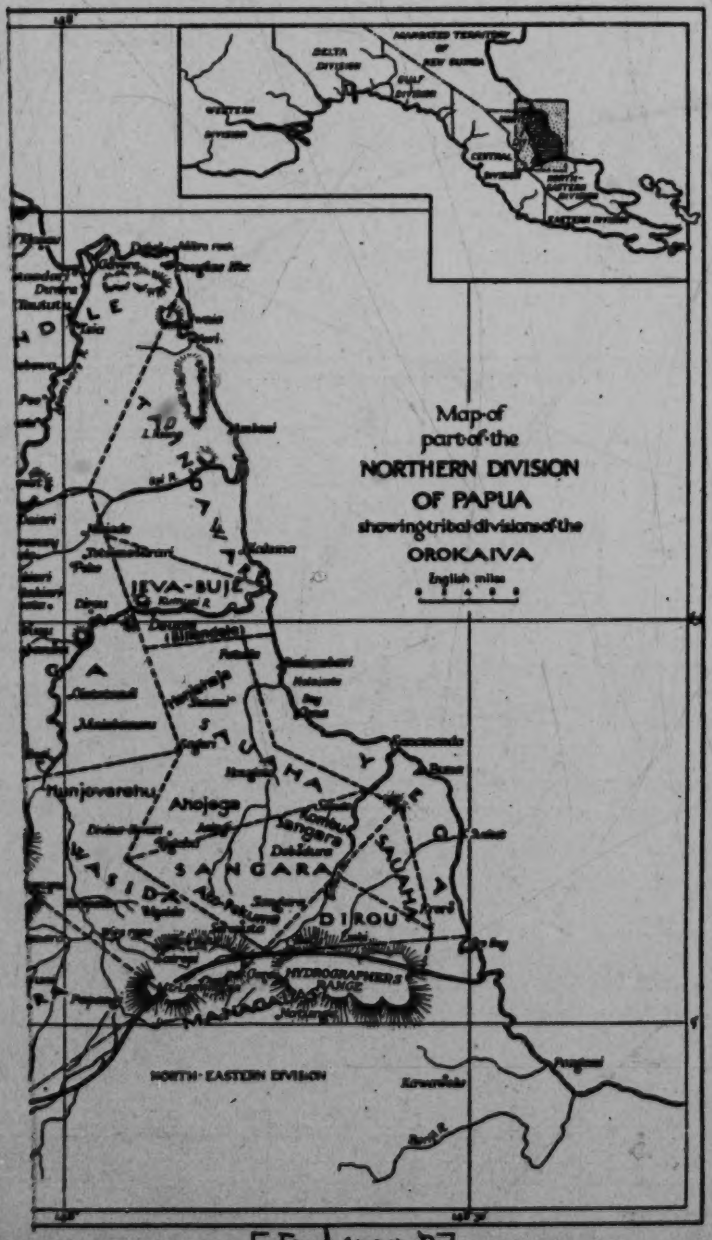
[End map A]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

131
619



[End map B]